

Freedom

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

VOL. X.—No. 104.

APRIL, 1896.

MONTHLY; ONE PENNY.

WHAT SHALL WE DO TO BE SAVED?

The times we are passing through are remarkable as foreboding in ways that cannot be misjudged the approach among civilised nations of grave social crises. We are in the full tide of the reaction, with all its diplomatic intrigues and its perpetual fanning and feeding of the war fever. Truly it is a reaction worthy of the system which it is trying to save, or rather, we should say, the destruction of which it is trying to postpone. Just as it paved its way to power by "charity" organised by its knights and dames, so it hopes to stave off the forces which are threatening class interests by the use of gold and all that gold can buy. Only a steadfastly honest and uncompromising attitude can in times like these help on the cause of social emancipation.

At the same time science, which is developing new applications of its various powers to a marvellous degree, is placing at our disposal resources which, if properly and humanely applied, may be of the greatest possible benefit to the race, or, on the other hand, if used in the interests of a brutal and dominating class may make life well nigh intolerable to its victims. The Röntgen rays and the new photography, for example, have the possibility of becoming either a blessing or a curse. The splendid results which must be the outcome of these researches is obvious; but the abuse of them under existing conditions has not been so seriously considered. Yet in a society where everything is sought to be turned to the advantage of the exploiters we can imagine what new terrors may be in store for us. Are we to have a new reign of Torquemada—a scientific inquisition? If not, what will save us from this possible curse? To whom can we look for help? Consider, for instance, all those resources improved and amplified in the hands of the medical profession. Can we be assured that these methods will never be abused? What have we recently seen of the honor and humanity of some of these gentry? Look what passes daily in our hospitals, where unhappy sufferers are often enough victimised by unscrupulous persons. Are we not placing those helpless ones still more at their mercy? Or take, again, our criminal classes—those thrice persecuted victims of a hypocritical society. Already the suggestion has been made as to them, and they will probably be the first to endure the application of this addition to the science of anthropometry; The detective photographer will penetrate to the innermost recesses of their being, —not with the idea of reforming them, that would be the last thing in his mind, but with the intention of acquiring a still more dreaded power over his victims, of becoming a still more useful tool to the ruling classes.

It is, in fact, quite possible to imagine a hundred ways in which private life and our individual persons may be invaded by the unscrupulous use of those scientific discoveries. Moreover, these ways and means will increase as science still further advances. And, finally, we have to remember that all these forces will be at the disposal of a reaction which is without principle and without morality. What shall we do to be saved from the evils that threaten us? We cannot, if we would, go back. These developments *must* take place; and it becomes a necessity for all those who are working for the future to seriously consider by what means those forces may be combated.

For us the answer is clear and decided. Nothing less than the abolition of economic slavery and the assertion of the right of the individual to be free to control and develop his own being. Anything short of this will leave us more or less at the mercy of present evils. But to accomplish this we have to revolutionise our attitude towards each other. We have to remember that man needs many things besides bread: oftentimes the help and sympathy of his fellow-man, without which social life is inconceivable. But he needs before all things *freedom*—freedom to develop his intellectual powers, without which nothing worthy to be called a human character can be formed.

It is therefore necessary for the Anarchists, whilst striving for economic emancipation, to assert also the right of the individual to the fullest freedom. The majority-rule of the Democrat denies us this and leaves us still exposed to the evils of governmental and official domination. Since we will never voluntarily trust our rights and liberties to the tender mercies of any form of government, by whatever name it may be called, it is left to us to instil into our fellow-men the principles of Anarchism which, by encouraging human freedom and dignity, will best aid in combating the new forms of coercion with which we are threatened. It is not only necessary that our principles should be preached; but that they should be practised as far as circumstances allow. For we shall be judged more by our works than by our words. It is only this that can save us and establish in the near future a society in which there shall be not only plenty for all of bread and freedom, but in which all the blessings of science will be used as reason and justice dictate, and the sanctity of the individual be for the first time upheld.

THE MATERIALIST EXPOSITION OF HISTORY.

—(Conclusion.)—

But what a disillusion for honest people when they learned the mystification of which they were made the victims by the *chief* of the "scientific Socialists."

I remember a discussion with a Social Democrat, a young man of good education and wide reading, but unfortunately of late years entirely immersed in the indifferent pamphlets and publications of the party, publications *under censure*, that is to say, by Engels and Auer. In the course of the discussion he read me triumphantly, as something new and entirely "materialistic," a passage from an attack by Engels upon Professor Dühring "Sprung from the animals, humanity appeared in history in a half-animal condition. Savages powerless in the face of Nature, without any idea of their own power and capacity, men were poor and miserable as the animals, and as incapable of production." For answer, I took Volney's *Ruins*, and read: "In the beginning, man, naked in body and mind, found himself thrown hap-hazard upon the hostile and savage earth. Like other animals, without experience of the past or knowledge of the future, he wandered in the depths of forests, guided and governed only by natural sensations. The pain of hunger drove him to food. The inclemency of the weather made him cover his body with clothing. Drawn by pleasure, he approached a being like himself and propagated his species" (*Les Ruines*, Paris, 7th year of the Republic, 1798). You should have seen that young man's astonishment!

If the words, "sprung from an animal," are not to be found in Volney, the only reason is that Darwin's book did not appear until 1859. Engels, although he opposes the Materialism of the Naturalists, in order to gain readers, admits the descent of man as established by them. Otherwise one would think that Engels had copied Volney. But are we to suppose that Volney originated those ideas? Not at all. He was an enlightened man of extraordinary literary power, and he diffused the ideas of his time. I have quoted Volney and Blanqui simply to prove that, since the beginning of the century, the economic explanation was not a conception limited to men of exceptional genius, but was a doctrine acknowledged by all enlightened people; and if Engels thought that by adopting ideas, widely admitted long ago by educated people, he was making a discovery and becoming a benefactor to humanity, he was strangely deceived. But that is not the fault of Vico and the encyclopedists, nor of Adam Smith and the English philosophers, nor of Niebuhr and the brilliant German school of history.

Nor is it the fault of science if Engels has mixed everything up, metaphysics with science, materialism with economism, and, like the pretentious person he was, has declared himself opposed to the materialism of the naturalists, the only scientific materialism. How did that come to be? I have many reasons for not touching on that question; but the fact remains, and German workmen who have had the misfortune to read Engels' pamphlets are convinced that Hegel's metaphysics is the inductive science, with the systems of transformation, evolution, and monism; whilst the inductive science of Bacon and Locke, Lamark, Darwin and Helmholtz, is only metaphysics! By metaphysics science means that senile scholasticism which preached the absurdity that Nature and the outside world are nothing but a reflection of our innate ideas, and that to know the physical world one must not study Nature but the facts and phenomena of a supernatural spirit. From this the word "metaphysics" was derived; for it signifies "after or below physics or Nature." "Scientific Socialists," please note!

The mortal blow to this theological and supernatural stupidity was given by Bacon and Locke, by Voltaire and the encyclopedists and the whole English philosophy. Those various pioneers of modern science proved that our knowledge and ideas are derived from the observation and study of Nature, and that, in consequence, we must study natural phenomena in their manifestation and origin according to the inductive method. But this is what Engels tells the workmen: "Transported into philosophy by Bacon and Locke, this inductive method created the very characteristic narrowness in the ideas of the last two centuries and produced the method of metaphysical reasoning."*

(Concluded on page 3.)

* In the Russian press, in which a contest against the Marxists has been going on for the last two years, this unique passage in literary history has already been pointed out, but no one has confronted Engels with Marx. This Russian polemic is very interesting. Whilst the best Russian journalists and all decent people are opposed to Engels, the reactionaries defend him. One of them calls on honest folk to band themselves together as disciples of capitalism. Another, without shame or compunction, declared that Tchernychevsky, that noble martyr under Russian despotism, a man whom Marx much admired, was an abject servant to capitalism.

Freedom

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

Monthly, One Penny; post free, 1½d.; U.S.A., 3 Cents; France, 15 Centimes.

Annual Subscription, post free, 1s. 6d.; U.S.A., 36 Cents; France, 1fr. 80c.
Foreign subscriptions should be sent by International Money Order,
payable to C. M. Wilson.

Wholesale Price, 1s. 4d. per quire of 27, carriage free to all parts.

All communications, exchanges, &c., for "FREEDOM" to be addressed to
THE EDITOR, 7, LAMBS CONDUIT STREET, LONDON, W. C.

Notice to Subscribers.—If there is a blue mark against this notice your subscription is due, and must be sent before next month if you wish to go on receiving the paper.

Back Numbers.—Vol. I., October 1886 to September 1887 (No. 2 sold out), price 2s. Vol. II., October 1887 to September 1888 (Nos. 16, 17, 18, 19 sold out), price 1s. 6d. Vol. III., October 1888 to December 1889, price 1s. 6d. Vol. IV., January to December 1890, price 1s. Vol. V., January to December 1891, price 1s. Carriage: single volumes, 2d., five volumes, 6d., throughout the United Kingdom.

NOTES.

THE ETHICS OF ELECTIONS.

Mr. Benn and Mr. Marks have been showing the world the methods adopted in parliamentary elections in the year 1895. We are not quite sure whether, after this, the famous election at Eatonswill will not have to take a back seat. At any rate, it is evident to all that lies, slanders, bribery and every form of political corruption were the order of the day in this constituency at the last election. The mind begins to sicken as the thought arises that at about the same time between five and six hundred contests were being fought in which, in all probability, the same tactics were being adopted. What a river of pollution to let loose on the country! For there is no shadow of doubt that what has happened with Benn and Marks could be said, more or less, of every constituency in which a contest was fought. For forty weary days has this disgusting business occupied the attention of two judges, the press and the public; and now we learn that each party has two hundred votes to be scrutinised, and as each one must be taken separately we leave our readers to imagine the treat in store for those who choose to follow the case. And all this will be for the glory of the lawyers and the disgrace of all others concerned. Moreover, it is the price we are told we must pay in the effort—the futile effort—to keep political life clean! Well, we at any rate protest against this wholesale contamination and corruption which a general election brings in its train. We have a society for the suppression of vice: what we need is a society for the suppression of politics.

We put two questions plainly: Is there any honest self-respecting person who, even though foolish enough to wish to become an M.P., would yet submit himself to the degradation of a political election? And, secondly, is there any man who has some sense as well as decency left who would vote when he finds himself in company with those who helped to fill the ballot-boxes of St. George's? Apart from all Anarchist principles the answers must be "No!" For the average honest person politics are simply impossible.

MINIMIZING THE MIDDLEMAN.

The new scheme of the Great Eastern Railway Company, though purely a capitalistic venture, seems likely to develop some important and interesting results, so far, at least, as distribution is concerned. The idea of the promoters, the immediate one—the ultimate one, of course, being *dividend*—is to bring producer and consumer in as close relation as circumstances will allow. In this event the middlemen of the London markets are likely to experience a slight squeeze, though not for long, as they will speedily take steps to reassert themselves. However, the position at present is this, that the G. E. R. issues a list of farmers along their system who will undertake to send their produce direct to the consumer on receipt of postal order covering cost of commodities required. These parcels the G. E. R. will undertake to deliver at the consumer's house at the rate of 4d. for 20 pounds, whether carried 20 miles or 200.

So far, it is obvious the only persons likely to benefit are the well-to-do farmers and the better-off class of consumers. But the idea naturally arises, cannot something be done to bring home to the people—the poor, the working people—the advantages of this direct method of distribution? It gives the opportunity for a great object-lesson, and although, as we have said, while economic conditions remain unchanged the middleman and the exploiter will still find means to prey on the community, the moral of the lesson to the workers would be of the utmost importance in developing their ideas in the direction of a better organisation of society. Later on, we might hope to see a crusade against all middlemen including those who are disguised as shareholders and who live, for instance, on the dividends that they steal from the workers on the Great Eastern Railway. Will not the co-operative societies look into this matter? It is a great opportunity.

CLEARING THE GROUND.

We congratulate Tom Mann on the success of the lectures which he has so far delivered at the Holborn Town Hall. If the remaining three subjects are dealt with as logically and conscientiously as the previous ones it seems to us the outcome must necessarily be a higher and broader conception of the social revolution (using that expression in its

most vitally human sense) than anything that has hitherto been fore-shadowed in the programs of the I.L.P. The undertaking which Mann has so pluckily entered upon will also, we feel sure, do much to clear away from the Socialist horizon the cobwebs which political and municipal action on the part of Social Democrats have allowed to accumulate. In a word, the necessity for the real economic struggle, which, all true Socialists recognise, has been powerfully enforced in each lecture. It needed to be done, and nothing but good can result from the doing of it. The ring of true enthusiasm with which each crowded gathering has greeted the uncompromising statement of Socialist principles, reminds one of the early days of the movement in England, before men's hopes and energies were frittered away on the mere rubbish of palliatives and stepping-stones.

WHO IS THE CRIMINAL?

Those of us who have read *Bleak House* can remember Dickens' description of the funeral of poor "Nemo" in the churchyard in Drury Lane, "a hemmed-in churchyard, pestiferous and obscene." At last, "into a beastly scrap of ground, which a Turk would reject as a savage abomination and a Caffre would shudder at, they bring our dear brother here departed, to receive Christian burial." That was written over forty years ago, and the evil has long since ceased. But if the crowding of the dead aroused the indignation of Dickens we wonder what he would have to say, were he alive, of the crowding of the living which goes on to-day. In this very Drury Lane, at No. 16, thirty-one people are living under such frightful conditions that even the St. Giles Board of Works have had to interfere and summon the scamp, McCarthy by name, who is farming this "desirable property." The clerk of the Board stated that the death rate in the vicinity of No. 16 had gone up to 129 per thousand! The condition of the house was shocking beyond description; so bad, indeed, that it did not pay McCarthy to put it in repair. He found it much more profitable to let his tenants pay their rent and die.

This wholesale murderer has not been sent for trial; whether because the "rights of property" exonerate him from blame, or because there is a still more guilty person—the real owner—above him, the magistrate did not explain. "Justice" is far more likely to assert itself if one of the wretched tenants of No. 16 should unfortunately find himself in the magisterial presence. Then we should see how the law that is so tender with the landlord would treat the landlord's victims.

TELEGRAMS AND THE TRUTH.

The action by the *Times* newspaper against the Central News Agency for having unduly "expanded" some telegrams from Japan during the late war raises some reflections as to the way in which public opinion is manufactured. Without doubt, the newspaper editor of the nineteenth century will form an interesting study in criminology for future generations. How he was allowed to publicly placard lies to pervert and prejudice the opinions of the gullible section of the population will, no doubt, astonish the sociologists of a century hence. It will be noted, too, in all probability, that the market value of a lie reached its highest point during the period of reaction through which we are now passing. We all know how the South African news was manipulated by the Chartered Company, and those of us who are not to be deluded will know how to value the "news" now reaching us from Matabeleland. Instead of reading: "Matabele on the warpath: Horrible murders," we should interpret, "Revolt of an outraged people against civilised barbarities;" and to verify this, read the statements of a missionary, the Rev. C. D. Helm, published in the *Chronicle*, of April 2nd. Those who look even deeper into these matters will probably conclude that the rising of the Matabele has really been instigated by Cecil Rhodes and his gang to draw off public attention from the Jameson raid and to gain sympathy as the injured party. Such is the picture which capitalism presents in its last and bloodiest struggles to maintain its grip on the throats of its exploited slaves.

ROBBERY THE LORDS' POLICY.

Mr. John Lloyd writes to the *Chronicle* pointing out how the landlords of the present day continue, wherever a chance offers, to rob the land from the people. These high and mighty ones don't do their robbery and jobbery as common folk might; they accomplish all on a grand, an imposing scale. Like their blood relations, the financial sharks who pick pockets on a colossal plan, they seem to imagine that the enormity of their crime will dazzle the people into regarding it as a virtue. Yet, after all, is not the land-stealer the greatest enemy of his race? He who steals your purse may leave you devilish poor; but he who steals your land enslaves you body and soul.

As Mr. Lloyd points out, Bills for the big monopolies and Enclosure Acts promoted by cunning lawyers on behalf of their wealthy clients, as in the case of the Earl of Dysart, are constantly threatening the common lands of the people.

The case is mentioned of a lord of the manor who quietly "appropriated" 1,500 acres of common land as his own freehold, had sold some and was open to sell more. Truly a fine sample of the robber-baron of these latter days, who takes all the spoil and none of the risk. The brave fellow knows what a friend he has in the State and its legal machinery, as he complacently robs the people of their birthright. No need for him to cut throats while he can so easily cut the ground from under our feet. Let the common burglar do the blood-spilling: he has found out a "more excellent way." And, to crown the whole grim farce, feeble Fabians and doddering Democrats are asserting that we must not ask for our stolen lands to be restored without giving compensation.

The Materialist Exposition of History.

(Concluded from page 1.)

This assertion of Engels, and his further statement that the doctrines of evolution and transformation, i.e. the science of the naturalists, are derived from Hegels' philosophy, are neither more nor less than glaring errors and contradictions to scientific terminology. Marx himself solemnly gives him the lie: "Denounced and overthrown by French materialism, the metaphysics of the seventeenth century had their revenge and restoration in the speculative German philosophy of the nineteenth. Since Hegel founded his universal metaphysical empire, attacks against theology, similar to those of the eighteenth century, have been renewed and are directed in general against all speculative philosophy and all metaphysics" (*French Materialism of the XVIII Century*).

Nor is science to blame if Engels, immersed in metaphysical absurdities, believed up to 1842 that the world and Nature, this beautiful, living and life-giving Nature, were the expression of his own queer ideas. It is, moreover, to his metaphysical belief that everything which he saw or read must be a reflection of his own ideas, that we must attribute his strange mania for claiming the paternity of ideas and systems elaborated by science long before his birth. We cannot otherwise explain his ridiculous pretensions and his not too scientific demonstrations. Must we assume that he did not even suspect the existence of all this historical literature? In that case—well, he must have been a queer "leader" in the science of a scientific party. We must then assume that, even in philosophy, he was devoid of quite elementary knowledge. For instance, he was quite unaware that the chief idea in Feuerbach's atheistic doctrine, namely, that man deified his own human nature in his divinities, was a commonplace among French essayists more than half a century before the publication of Feuerbach's work. In Volney's *Ruins*, mentioned above, we read: "Like the world of which he is a part, man is governed by natural laws, regular in their course, consistent in their effects, unalterable in their essence" (page 39, French edition). "It is not God who made man in his image, but man who has fashioned God in his. He has given God his mind, clad him with his inclinations, and endowed him with his judgments" (p. 85).

You may say that Engels no doubt knew all this. Be it so. But in that case, why did he show such disingenuousness? why did he create without cause a more than deplorable confusion in the conscience of the workers? and with what object did he blind his readers' eyes? Certainly not to the advantage of truth or Socialism.

W. TCHERKESOV.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

The insatiable greed of international capitalists and money-grabbers lately met with some rebuffs in Venezuela, the Transvaal and Abyssinia, and, as usual, the people have to pay the bill in the form of new taxes in gold and blood, money wasted on armaments, and men led to mutual slaughter. The Italian people, at any rate, seem to a degree tired of this, and when the defeat at Adowa became known we heard no Jingo cries for revenge on the Abyssinians, but large popular demonstrations were made to demand the recall of all troops from Africa, and the people tried to prevent the departure of fresh troops to Africa; so this was done secretly, and news of these events was prevented from reaching the Italian troops in Africa. No doubt, if those Italian troops had been successful in butchering tens of thousands of Abyssinians, they would have been hailed as glorious heroes by much the same people who now demonstrate against the war; still, in the presence of Jingoism revived all over the world, these demonstrations are welcome as a small symptom of the fact that popular patience has its limits and may be overstrained. Contrast them with the senseless brawling of Spanish students cheering the repression of the Cuban insurrection.

Those Italian demonstrations contain another lesson, too. They resulted in overthrowing Crispi's government and in making way for his successor, the Marquis of Rudini, a man who for thirty years has been strong in repressing popular movements, and who has already eaten most of his words about African politics uttered when in opposition. The futility of mere political changes is once more demonstrated; all governments are alike, because all on getting into power are bound to keep up their power, and this can only be done by the same means—brutality and crime, with a little more or a little less cajolery of the worst passions of the most stupid part of the people thrown in. Again, the right moment to strike a blow was missed by the shifting of responsibilities which is one of the inevitable features of the representative system. In a number of Italian towns, Milan especially, popular emotion rose high; but all looked forward to Rome, the capital, and there, again, the Chamber of Deputies was looked to, but in vain; after much noise the higgling for ministerial posts began, and that was all.

True, an amnesty was proclaimed for the prisoners of Sicily and Massa Carrara, save those convicted of homicide. The people cheered De Felice, Bosco, Barbato and others released, and we welcome them too. But nothing is heard of abolishing the *domicilio coatto*, transportation colonies where hundreds of our comrades still linger, their weary life being only broken here and there by massacres like that of March 1st, when they were fired on by their guards, one of them, comrade Arganti, being killed. Nor is the fate of the imprisoned Anarchists, the victims of the trials at Genoa, Viterbo, etc., in any way altered.

Similar news of the utter worthlessness of Radical governments, supported by 50 or more Socialist M.P.s. as the present French government is, we have from France. Cyvoct, transported in 1884 for a newspaper article, it was resolved to keep in prison; and Lorion, sentenced to death at Cayenne ten months ago for alleged participation in the events connected with the massacre of Anarchists by their gaolers in October 1894, is still without knowledge of when or whether he is to die. President and ministers are too busy hobnobbing with Emperors, Czarwitschs and retired illustrious statesmen on the Riviera to think about a man's life which this absurd system of so-called "administration of justice" has placed at their disposal. Comrade Kropotkin's expulsion from France is another achievement of the semi-

Socialist ministry, which thereby, with a masterly stroke, threw a sop to both parties which uphold it, namely, the Reactionists and the Socialists. These assertions we make on the authority of *Les Temps Nouveaux*, where comrade Grave tells that when the news was brought to the office of the *Petite République*, the Socialist daily, now chiefly in Marxist hands, "all the members of the editorial staff present, with one exception, showed satisfaction over this measure of their ally." And in this they are but consistent. They expel Anarchists from so-called Workingmen's Congresses: why should they not rejoice when ministries, which they support with their votes, expel them from entire countries? Nay, one of their speakers, M. Chauvin, a Marxist, recently declared at a public meeting held in Paris: "The duty of Socialists, when they have come into power, will be to have the Anarchists shot." It should be added that he is the mouthpiece of an insignificant section only which thus vents its spite; whilst news of the growth of sympathy with our ideas and of disgust with politics among the French Socialists in general continues to come in.

We welcome comrade F. S. Merlino back to freedom after his two years' imprisonment. Arrested on January 30th 1894, he was released on February 9th 1896, having been acquitted during this time on the trial of a new indictment entered against him last year in Florence. He is, after ten years of exile, now staying in Italy once more.

News of comrades Pini and Meunier are to hand in *La Sociale*. Pini, transported to Cayenne, had managed to escape into Dutch Guiana, where he stayed for a month, but returned to French territory to help the escape of other comrades. He was again arrested and thrust into prison for two years, where he was at the time of the massacre of Anarchists in October 1894. This does away with many newspaper lies about him, told of that event. Meunier, extradited by England to France, made an unsuccessful attempt to escape from French Guiana, and is also imprisoned now.

The young Brazilian Republic is hurrying to keep pace with European despotism. A number of Italian comrades at San Paulo were expelled and required to leave by an Italian steamer bound for Genoa, which meant their extradition from Brazil to Italy. Their protest was strong enough to prevent this; so they were locked up for several days in the local asylum and then sent off to another South American State. The propaganda at San Paulo has not been silenced by this; the new paper, *Il Operaio Comunista Anarchico*, made its appearance, after all, on February 2nd, 1896.

The Sociedad General de Trabajadores de la Habana (Cuban Workers' General Association), in a resolution published in *El Esclavo*, of Tamp., Fla., February 20, strongly protests against the arbitrary rules of the International Congress Committee for the admission of delegates. Those "rules" are confirmed, we notice, in the provisional rules recently issued, a code of Congress law, printed in various kinds of big type; but careful students may discover at the end a line or two of the smallest possible print, saying that, after all, the Congress is sovereign in all these matters;—a gracious admission!

The German tailors' strike ended with some sham concessions, being compromised by the leaders when the workers were all for continuing the strike. Our Berlin comrades worked hard to counteract the manoeuvres of the strike leaders, as the Berlin *Sozialist* narrates. The belief of the workers in leaders is somewhat shaken as the result of what is bluntly called their betrayal.

The Austrian miners of Silesia are on strike. The mines are owned by railway companies, Rothschild, an archduke and aristocrats, who, it is needless to say, have all the resources of the State at their bidding; so the struggle is going to be a hard one. After a few days, however, concessions were made to the miners, and the end of the strike was announced.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.—A French translation of Bakunin's letters to A. Herizen, published last year in German (they were originally written in Russian and form the most important contribution towards an intimate knowledge of his life and character yet published; Paris, price 2s. 8d.); Bakunin's three lectures delivered at Sonvillier in April, 1871, were published at New York in Bohemian; French (the original), German, Spanish and Dutch translations having been published last year.

An Anarchist paper for women, *La Voz de la Mujer* (The Woman's Voice), appeared on January 8, also *Casero* and *La Revolucion Social* at Buenos Ayres. *De Ontwaking* (The Awakening) of Antwerp, *Proletar* of Reichenberg, *Pokrok* (Progress) of Kolin, Austria, and *L'Union Obrero* of San Martin de Provencensals, Spain, are new papers.

Count Tolstoy's letter on Venezuela, dealing with patriotism and the State (*Daily Chronicle*, March 17), is worth reading;—what a pity this man, who so clearly exposes the hypocrisy of modern State-ridden civilisation, is himself spoiling all the good he does by perpetuating the mental slavery of mankind in the bonds of religious belief.

* *

Some Observations suggested by a Perusal of Lane's Anti-Statist Communist Manifesto.

In common with all Socialists, Anarchist or otherwise, he (Lane) seems to think that wealth can now or very shortly will, with the aid of machinery, be produced in unlimited quantities and with very little manual labor or effort of any kind. Society once properly "organised," we need scarcely work at all. At least this seems to be the view held by nearly all Socialists, and it is a view of our present and future wealth-producing capabilities I cannot see my way to accept in the least. Of course, it is easy for any man to become a Socialist or Communist if once he believe that the only thing required is some change in the social or industrial "organisation" in order to produce all the comforts and luxuries that any probable or possible population would be likely to call for. It is quite another thing to be a Socialist when you do not accept this view. To believe that, perhaps for hundreds of years after humanity has rid itself of the higher loafing class and of persons uselessly employed, it will still be necessary to work a steady eight hours a day to maintain a not very high standard of comfort, will, to many, scarcely seem to leave room to call one's self Communist at all. I am not sure but there may be some who would say that under such conditions Communism would be impossible altogether; I am quite sure that it would be something very different to what many imagine it to be. Yet it would be well to remind such that superfluity is not necessarily any part of the idea of Communism. I suppose that of late years we have been made familiar with the idea of mutual aid among animals. It has been sought, so I understand, to find a warrant for the idea of Communism in their habits of mutual aid, showing how such habits tend to the survival of those species most addicted to them and thus proving them the fittest in the struggle for existence. There is no question here of superfluity,—decidedly the reverse; so that if Communism has helped us to survive in the past, under a state of scarcity, at a time when it can hardly be said we were sufficiently intelligent to be conscious of our actions, it is not necessary, it seems to me, to make superfluity a condition of

